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THE Nation

March 14, 1953
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End of the Stalin Era

Alexander Werth

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Rutgers: A Warning — *Broadus Mitchell*

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

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Around the U.S.A.

Readin', Ritin', and Retooling

Louisville, Kentucky

THE amount of illiteracy in a state or community is a good indication of the amount of poverty. In Kentucky nearly one-third of the young men who come before selective-service boards are being rejected for educational deficiencies. Distressed educators rank their state forty-seventh in the Union in literacy—although several other Southern states could dispute this distinction. It is not surprising, therefore, to learn that per capita income ranges from $307 a year in one Kentucky county to $1,700 in another. In 34 of the state's 120 counties the average income is less than $500 a year. Welfare rolls show a continuous climb upward.

One might hope that the present national prosperity would solve Kentucky's problem, that boom times would boost the underprivileged and their children to the threshold of education, where they might learn enough to take care of themselves. Unfortunately, there is under-employment and unemployment even now in Kentucky's traditional industries.

More than half of the population is rural, and as in other agricultural areas Kentucky farms support fewer and fewer people. In 1935 there were 451,137 farm workers in the state. Census takers in 1950 found 298,140, including both family workers and hired hands. The coal-mining industry in eastern Kentucky is dying. It has been estimated that five years from now not more than ten mines will be operating in Harlan County, and they will have been mechanized so as to require the minimum number of miners. The liquor industry has got itself in a jam. At the outbreak of the Korean war distillers anticipated a ban on production and went into night-and-day operation, despite large inventories. But no ban was applied, and on June 30 last 937,156,000 gallons of distilled spirits were stored in government warehouses. Yearly withdrawals for bottling and sale do not much exceed 75,000,000 gallons.

Hope for an improvement in the economic situation must rest on new industries. A large number are in fact moving in—an atomic-power plant at Paducah, aluminum, chemical, and synthetic-rubber plants, General Electric's home-applance division, and others. But if the native labor force is to benefit by this expansion, it must be "retooled" and taught mechanical skills that presume a degree of literacy. Hence in Kentucky education cannot be counted among the fruits of abundance; it is the vital seed.

• Only one in fourteen children completes high school. Three-fifth of the schools are one-room buildings. One-fourth of the state's 530,000 children attend schools with hand-operated water supplies; 38 per cent must use outdoor toilet facilities. The state Department of Education is working on a minimum program—a "bill of rights" for Kentucky's children. Among the items being considered are a guaranteed school term of nine months, an adequate supply of textbooks, competent certified teachers possessing at least a baccalaureate degree, and a minimum salary for teachers of $2,400 a year.

These are all simple necessities, but action must await the result of a vote next November on an amendment to the state constitution. At present the constitution provides that at least 75 per cent of the state money for schools shall be distributed to the various school districts on a census-pupil basis. Thus the fewer listed pupils who attend in a district, the greater is the state's share of the actual educational costs. Truancy becomes a local financial boon. The proposed amendment, which has the support of Governor Lawrence Wetherby and the state's educational associations, would permit the legislature to decide the allotment of funds; that body, it is hoped, would set the matter right.

• But not all Kentucky's school problems can be blamed on a constitution drafted in 1890. To quote Governor Wetherby: "The practice of assessing property at a fractional part of its fair cash value is damaging the financial structure of local government and schools." The Kentucky Educational Association estimates that the minimum foundation program would cost $100,000,000 a year, of which the state would pay about half. The question is, will the counties do their share? Property assessment in Kentucky, as everywhere else, is pretty much a political football. Moreover, certain influential employer groups have a vested interest in illiteracy.

Another approach to the literacy problem is sought through adult education. A generation ago, as a result of the high illiteracy found by the draft boards of World War I, many "moonlight" schools were started where persons who could read and write taught their neighbors informally. Efforts to revive that spirit of self-help are being made by a group of citizens working with Governor Wetherby. Their aim is to instruct local volunteer committees in the quick and effective teaching and learning techniques developed by Dr. Laubech for the armed forces. Governor Wetherby has called a conference of educators for March 18 to discuss this and other plans.

Kentucky's economic situation is typical of the transitional South. Its educational plight is no worse than that of the region in general. If it will match its efforts to attract new industry with efforts to create a new kind of worker, it will become an example to the whole South.

ALFRED MAUND

[*The author is a member of the staff of the Louisville* Courier-Journal.]

Next Week

Edward Crankshaw, Britain's top expert on the Soviet Union, reviews a book of particular significance at this time: William Appleton Williams's "American-Russian Relations, 1781-1947."

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THE Nation
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EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

Circus on the White House Lawn

President Eisenhower's continued unwillingness to interfere with Senator McCarthy on the ground that Congress has the right to conduct investigations as it sees fit, indicates an amazing insensitivity both to constitutional issues and to the requirements of sound administration. The purpose of Congressional committee hearings is the preparation of legislation. Under the McCarrans, McCarthys, and Veldes, this function has been perverted in two ways. On the one hand, the committees are encroaching on the field of the judiciary by punishing people without due process; on the other, they are invading the domain of the Executive by undertaking a general supervision of personnel.

By tolerating these perversions the President is undermining the whole doctrine of the separation of powers. He is also acquiescing in the reduction of the civil service to a demoralized, undisciplined shambles. Can any organization work smoothly and efficiently when its employees are brought before a television camera and encouraged to tattle on each other, and not merely to criticize but to question the motives and good faith of their superiors? What authority is Mr. Dulles going to exercise in his department now that his subordinates have seen that personal security requires them to clear with the Senator rather than the Secretary?

If the President asked himself such questions, he could hardly remain complacent about McCarthyism. He is not going to stop the rot by such reorganizations as the new Voice of America chief is said to be planning, inevitable as that now is. Unless the McCarthy inquisition is stopped cold, no man of integrity will be willing henceforth to serve this section of the State Department.

Eden's Mission

The arrival here of the British mission headed by Messrs. Eden and Butler coincided with an announcement of a further substantial improvement in the sterling area's reserves. But although there is no immediate emergency to be met, Britain's economic position remains basically unstable, as the Committee for Economic Development recognizes in the striking report it has just published. And the problem the British came to discuss was how to reestablish economic relations between the dollar and the sterling areas on a sound basis; how, in short, to expand trade so that aid will become unnecessary.

Mr. Eden had been at pains to make clear that his government was not looking for immediate action but did hope to obtain from the new Administration a promise that it will cooperate in reaching certain objectives, such as the rebuilding of a multi-lateral trade system to which this country is already deeply committed in theory. It was, in fact, a triumph for American policy when the recent Commonwealth Economic Conference rejected proposals for a closed, self-sufficient Commonwealth system and decided to seek means both for freeing and for expanding world trade.

If this ideal, which is now a generally accepted American ideal, is to be achieved, the United States will have to back it by more than lip service. As the most productive and economically powerful country in the world, we shall have to assume the role played by Britain in its days of dominance and open our doors to foreign goods and our financial markets to foreign borrowers. The preponderant weight of informed opinion, including business opinion, now favors bold measures of this nature. As an outcome of the Eden-Butler visit, the Administration has in effect promised that just such a bold policy will be followed. But the Administration promise will remain empty unless Congress, in the end, is willing to perform.

A "Good" Filibuster

Offshore oil has the Administration all at sea. Secretary of Interior McKay is prepared to give the coastal states full title to underseas oil within their "historic boundaries"—ten and a half miles in the case of Texas and Florida—although even he gagged at the blatant demand of Senator Daniel of Texas for a large cut of the royalties earned from minerals beneath the continental shelf beyond any state limits. Attorney General Brownell, on the other hand, warned the Senate Interior Committee that a statute giving the states a quitclaim to offshore territory might prove vulnerable to challenge

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In This Issue

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 217
Caution Is the Keynote 219

ARTICLES

U. N. Watches the Kremlin
by J. Alvarez del Vayo 220

Is War Nearer?
An Ex-Communist's View
by Earl Browder 221

Man and Symbol *by Alexander Werth* 222

Quiet Purge:
The G. O. P. Builds a New Machine
by Bruce Catton 223

Land for the Many: Guatemala Story
by Luis Cardoza y Aragon 224

Will Canada Go Right?
A Ballot Test Is Near
by Keith Hutchison 225

Rutgers: A Warning
Lessons of a Lost Fight
by Broadus Mitchell 228

The Mourning Dove: *A Poem*
by Samuel Yellen 229

BOOKS

The End of Something
A Review *by Maxwell Geismar* 230

New Books in Brief 231

THEATER *by Harold Clurman* 232

ART *by S. Lane Faison, Jr.* 233

MUSIC *by B. H. Haggin* 234

LETTERS 235

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 507
by Frank W. Lewis 236

AROUND THE U. S. A.
Readin', Ritin', and Retooling
by Alfred Maund opposite 217

Editorial Board

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in the courts. It would be better, he thought, for Congress to dispose of this national heritage by simply authorizing the states to administer and develop offshore subsoil resources.

The biggest monkey wrench was thrown into the planning by the State Department, now alert to the international implications of the Texas-Florida pretensions. The United States, the deputy legal adviser of the Department told the committee, has never claimed more than a three-mile limit, and the claims of the states "cannot exceed those of the nation." Legal recognition of a ten-and-a-half-mile limit, he argued, would make it difficult for the government to resist extravagant claims by other nations.

Despite the possibility of conflict with both constitutional and international law, the mood of the majority of the Senate committee is to go ahead and damn the consequences, and the President has indicated that he will sign any legislation that reaches his desk. There is a real chance, however, that a filibuster may delay Congressional action. Considering that the proponents of the offshore oil bill are equally fervent opponents of the closure, this would indeed be poetic justice. If ever a filibuster were justified, it would be in the case of this bill, which not only sanctions an ugly grab of national property but provides a dangerous precedent for further assaults on federal lands and mineral rights.

Vincent Walks the Plank

While appearing to reject their views, John Foster Dulles has again capitulated to Senators McCarran and McCarthy by ruling that John Carter Vincent cannot "usefully continue to serve" the State Department. True, he found that Mr. Vincent is not and has never been either a bad loyalty or a bad security risk, but this conclusion, worded in the most niggardly negative terms, was coupled with another that for all practical purposes concedes that McCarthy and McCarran were right—namely, that Vincent's reporting and advice failed to meet the standard demanded of a foreign-service officer. The ruling will be carefully noted by every ambitious career officer in the foreign service, for it amply confirms the late Joseph Schumpeter's conclusion that American foreign policy is domestic politics.

As he viewed the political balance of power, Mr. Dulles concluded that Vincent had to go. The problem was simply to find a plausible excuse. Naturally the witch-hunters are not altogether satisfied; by exonerating Vincent on the loyalty and security issues Mr. Dulles indicated his unwillingness to rely on the testimony of Louis Budenz. What really matters is the cynical implication that the standard of the State Department is not honest reporting but the right political connections. The power of the China Lobby and not the quality of his reporting is what led to Mr. Vincent's dismissal. As to

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whether his reporting was accurate or not, Benjamin Schwartz, assistant professor of Far Eastern history at Harvard University, had this to say in a letter to the New York *Times* of December 30, 1952:

> Nothing has happened since 1945 to reverse the judgment of a large assortment of persons [including Mr. Vincent—Ed.] familiar with China that the Chiang government was guilty of an almost criminal failure to carry out certain vital reforms in China; that the Kuomintang troops were thoroughly demoralized; that the government did everything possible by default to facilitate a Communist victory. No evidence has been produced to reverse the judgment that further armed support to Chiang would have been a sheer waste; that anything less than an armed intervention by the United States . . . would have [failed to] put a brake on the Communist advance.

But of course Professor Schwartz is a historian, not a politician, and who listens to historians these days? Certainly not Washington.

Caution is the Keynote

THE death of Stalin and the accession of Malenkov have loosed a torrent of wishful or fearful thoughts throughout the world. For neither is there any reasonable support. The fantasy that sent Czarist bonds up from 3⅜ to 5⅛ was hardly more far-fetched than the hope that inspired the Voice of America to warn the new Soviet leaders of their coming liquidation. Walter Winchell, hard put to outstrip the other guessers, professes to know that the Red army is in full control, having bested the Communist Party, and will lead Russia into new aggressions. (To show the proportions of the threat, he revealed that Winchell's status in the Naval Reserve has been changed to R, meaning Ready.) But amid conflicting prophecies of early adventures—either to secure the new regime against internal unrest or as an expression of the recklessness of the new rulers—and counter prophecies of a prolonged period of uncertainty and hesitation which should be seized upon to undermine Soviet power, persons closest to the realities of Russian politics have been silent or very wary.

This, we believe, is the course of wisdom. All we know now is that the new government in Moscow was organized with impressive speed and every evidence of pre-planning and careful articulation. Unity is its outward appearance; and one would be foolish to count on a palace revolt—an event which would spell death to the losers and undermine Soviet power throughout the world. As for the satellite regimes, restless or not, they have invested their hope of survival in the connection with the Kremlin: they can no longer "opt out" and avoid counter-revolution. Even China, on which the most ardently wishful thoughts are now concentrated, is bound to Russia by ties that transcend the brotherhood of world revolution—and that, too, cannot safely be discounted. One of the most inescapable is the Korean war.

For China to draw away from Moscow would mean loss of the total Communist stake in Korea, defeat without compensation. It would mean a consequent surrender of power throughout Asia. We have yet to hear any of our political-war experts proposing to recognize the Mao government or to seat it in the United Nations or even to accept the fact of the Chinese revolution. Indeed on the very day the newspapers carried stories predicting Mao's probable alienation from a regime headed by Malenkov, they reported Anthony Eden's agreement to an all-but-total embargo of trade with Peking. But meanwhile Vishinsky in his speech at the U. N. had accepted responsibility for supplying arms to China and North Korea for their struggle against the "American aggressors." This was an open admission of Moscow's role in Korea; it was also a solid guarantee of help to Mao Tse-tung. In this total context is it sensible to expect the Peking regime to issue a declaration of independence of Moscow?

Until some unmistakable sign of a break appears in the Soviet world we can only hope our government will display the caution evident in other Western capitals. And when a break occurs, if it does, we hope the "adventurism" of the Republican wild men will be overruled by the moderates of both parties in Congress and the Administration. For whatever the "new era" turns out to be, it is not likely to take the shape imagined by the Kerstens and Jenners, the China Lobby, and the anti-Communist Crusaders. "Psychological warfare" based on the notion that the Russian people hated Stalin and would welcome the overthrow of their government, or that China is finished with revolution and looks to Chiang Kai-shek for rescue could lead to total disaster.

The only move the Administration could safely make would be one based on the assumption that the new Moscow regime is as strong and unified as its appearance. This country could offer in good faith to negotiate differences, making a fresh start in Korea, in China and Formosa, in Germany and Austria; and to reopen the question of arms limitation and control. It could demand a mutual moratorium on political warfare and propose a cooperative effort to extend technical and financial aid through the U. N. to every underprivileged part of the world, without distinction as to political color or control. This it could do without resorting to fantasies or counter-revolutionary maneuvers. And to make such a move would undoubtedly be the best piece of political or psychological warfare that could be devised. But perhaps we are indulging in fantasies ourselves. For America too has recently entered a "new era."

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J. Alvarez del Vayo

U.N. Watches the Kremlin

United Nations, March 6

THE news of Stalin's death struck a Political Committee that was already deadlocked on the Korean issue. There is no longer any latitude for wishful thinking. Unless a quite new international situation is created, a climate for a general high-level discussion, the war in Korea may last for years, just as in Indo-China. The irritating prediction that no isolated solution is now possible for Korea has become incontrovertible.

In this atmosphere of stalemate the news of Stalin's death produced a profound impression and a good deal of confused speculation at the United Nations. Those best acquainted with Russian affairs dismissed the idea of a coming ruthless struggle for power within the regime. They found little or no parallel between the problem of succession posed by Lenin's death and that following Stalin's. Thirty years have passed, and an entirely different situation confronts the planners of policy toward Russia. When Lenin died, the country was just emerging from economic chaos. I had been there two years before with Nansen's relief mission, and I returned a couple of months after his death as a correspondent. Russia was not only experiencing famine caused in part by a terrific drought. Production had slid back a hundred and fifty years as result of World War I, revolution and civil war, and the foreign interventions. Railroads, telegraph systems, health services, all were disrupted and broken. In 1922 I did not meet a single chief of a diplomatic mission in Moscow who gave the Bolsheviks more than a few years.

Today it is Russia's strength, not its disruption, that worries the West. On the very day that Stalin's death was announced the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe issued at Geneva its comprehensive report on postwar economic development, in which it stated: "There are indications that if the present rates of expansion are maintained, by the end of this decade the production and consumption of major industrial raw materials in the Soviet Union will be equal or superior to that in the seven most industrialized countries in Western Europe." Commenting on this and on Stalin's death one delegate said: "It would be strange if Stalin's heirs were to risk in a fight for

personal power their vast heritage. The group in control have grown with him in the conduct of political affairs; they have been trained under a terrific discipline, are fanatically devoted to the party, and, above all, have emerged from the great test of World War II absolutely confident of their power and that of their country. We are not witnessing the disappearance of a Latin American dictator."

But while the probability of a weakening of Russia that would alter the present balance of power was discounted by the more experienced delegates, there was evident a degree of anxiety lest the hope of such a change might provide new impetus to the "liberation" crusade. Though official Washington comment had been restrained and President Eisenhower had promptly repeated in his press conference his willingness to meet any Russian who might succeed Mr. Stalin, there were abundant indications that other forces were watching for "any weakening of communism to act politically, by propaganda, or militarily," in the words of a CBS commentator speaking from the capital. It was fear of pressure in that direction, of the temptation to "seize the opportunity in the more vulnerable satellites," that was considered a disturbing possibility.

Fear that the new Russian leaders might eventually show a less wait-and-see attitude was also heard. Stalin was pictured as a master of caution when he felt that what the adversary wanted was to lead him out of the path of policy he had already decided upon. The question was raised whether his successors would so calmly follow a program of action predicated upon the theory that in the end the capitalist world would be forced into conflict and economic difficulties as the result of its internal contradictions.

Some feared also that Stalin's death might be used as a new argument to avoid negotiations. Too much stress on the idea that we "may miss Stalin" was considered dangerous. As one delegate put it, the same people who a week ago were saying, "What is the use of talking to Stalin?" now act as if Stalin had been the only one you could talk to in Russia. This attitude might again lock the door to negotiation.

The hopes of some delegates were turned to the European allies, above all, Great Britain. The report that Foreign Secretary Eden was urging Washington to move very cautiously in Asia and to observe the greatest prudence in dealing with the new Russian leaders was welcome news in the midst of the general anxiety. For opportunities still exist. On April 13 a new East-West trade conference opens in Geneva, the Russians having this time accepted the invitation of Gunnar Myrdal, chairman of the E. C. E. The treaty on the European Army in its relation with Germany is also not yet an accomplished fact; chance for a new examination of the German issue remains. But the first condition for all this is a renunciation of the policy of adventure and a return to diplomacy.

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IS WAR NEARER?

An Ex-Communist's View . . *by Earl Browder*

IN DEATH as in life Stalin was unique: there is no gauge by which he can be assessed, no label under which he can be pigeonholed. And just as the power concentrated in Stalin's hands during his life grew to unparalleled proportions, so his passing will have unprecedented repercussions.

There can be no successor to Stalin; his shoes must forever remain empty. This is true because his power had a single historical function which has been completed. It developed from his role in lifting Russia out of medieval conditions into those of a modern industrial society, compressing into three decades a process which in Western Europe and America was spread over three hundred years. This tenfold speeding up of history, this forced march of the Russian people out of the seventeenth century into the twentieth, was led and organized by Stalin. He alone of all Russian leaders held to this goal with ferocious tenacity, overcoming all obstacles whatever the cost, driving the entire nation along the marked path, imbuing it with his will, mercilessly sacrificing the laggards. The nation responded, and as it gathered momentum on its course, it built the personal power of its commander to greater and greater heights. With Russia's victory in World War II and with the reconstruction of its economy after the war, the purpose which had energized this superhuman effort was accomplished. For the first time in its history Russia was invincible; it had a modern economy second only to that of America; it was a first-class power.

Most Americans fail to realize that with Stalin's historical task accomplished, the Russian leadership that will follow him will necessarily be entirely different. The new leadership will inherit an industrialized Russia; it will have different tasks and therefore play a different role. Thus Stalin can have no successor in the ordinary sense of the word.

THE STALIN ERA in Russia might be compared with the period of the "Robber Barons" in our industrial history. But the American industrial barons were limited in their scope to single regions and industries, whereas their Stalinist counterparts were organized into a homogeneous national machine, a sort of gigantic "trust" in which the traditional profit motive was replaced by socialist slogans. The rule of the Robber Barons in this country had to give way to a regime of law and orderly progress when the economy had been developed to a high level, and an analogous change will take place in the technique of Russian leadership.

Unfortunately for world peace, however, neither Soviet nor American political thought recognizes the meaning of the approaching change in Russia. Soviet thinking is still dominated by the concept of hostile encirclement, which in the world of physical reality has been breached beyond possible reconstruction. The heartland of the capitalist world, America, has today fully as sound reasons to consider itself the victim of "socialist encirclement," though in this case too the encirclement is more psychological than physical.

The danger of war will be accentuated by the passing of Stalin. For it was characteristic of him that while his iron nerves did not know the meaning of fear, he always avoided adventurous international policies and restrained his more reckless colleagues. He consistently opposed the post-war revolutionary adventures in Greece, and continued to support the project of a *modus vivendi* in China right up to the eve of Chiang Kai-shek's collapse before the rising armies under Mao Tse-tung.

Stalin valued America highly and wanted friendly relations with America. His latest published utterance, reported by India's Dr. Saiffudin Kitchlew in the New York *Times* of February 25, reflects this long-standing attitude, which was widely at variance with official Russian propaganda against America. The second rank of leaders, perhaps from too long reliance upon Stalin to do all the original thinking, seem to be unable to deal with America except in terms of hysterical abuse. They who must form the post-Stalin leadership of the Soviet Union seem much less well prepared than Stalin was to define and solve the historical problem of "coexistence."

Thus it would be utopian to expect that the new leadership in Russia, in its first phase, will pursue a more enlightened policy in either domestic or foreign affairs. On the contrary, it may for a time be even more intolerant and aggressive in its attitude and mood.

IN 1926 I attended the Sixth and Seventh Enlarged Plenum meetings of the Comintern Executive and the fifteenth Russian Communist Party Conference at Moscow. At these gatherings I saw Stalin rise to undisputed primacy in the leadership of Russian and international communism by winning a rigorous intellectual battle without precedent in the records of politics. I studied Stalin's thought, and while I was never close to him personally, it was my feeling during fifteen years as the head of the American Communist Party that it was Stalin's influence that kept hostile critics from demolishing my policies for the American party, which were always adjusted to America's unique features and were often unorthodox. When from 1945 on I found myself in deep and growing disagreement with the international line of the Communist movement, so much so that I no longer call myself a Communist, I believed and still believe that the 1945 collapse of the American Communist Party was one of

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the by-products of Stalin's retirement from active operational leadership.

With the end of the Stalin era Soviet hegemony over the world socialist movement also comes to an end. It is now clear that the Soviet type of socialism, though attractive to the economically backward countries, is not acceptable to the working classes of the industrially advanced Western countries with long experience in democratic self-government. For a whole period to come, different types of socialism will develop in different regions.

Stalin had come to occupy so much "political space" in his own personal right, space which can never again be occupied by any one leader, that his incapacity or death creates a tremendous vacuum. How this vacuum will gradually be filled, and an equilibrium again be reached in world politics, is perhaps the most serious problem facing the world.

MAN AND SYMBOL . . . *by Alexander Werth*

Paris

STALIN'S death has opened the floodgates for torrents of copy, some laudatory, most petty and malicious, and nearly all fantastically sensational.

The reaction of anyone who has actually been in the Soviet Union for any length of time is bound to be different. The only press story which seemed to me to ring true was the United Press dispatch telling of the people weeping in the streets of Moscow and whispering in the street cars as if they were actually in the death chamber. In my seven-year stay in the Soviet Union, I found that the attitude of the Russian people toward Stalin had no parallel anywhere. It was nothing like what the Germans felt for Hitler, though in some respects it resembled the British attitude toward the royal family. The German's feeling for Hitler was intensely personal; the Russian's for Stalin was personal in only a limited sense. Stalin was the *khoziain,* the "boss," who led the country through good days and bad and generally succeeded in what he set out to do.

Until 1928 Russia was still Zoshchenko's humorous Russia, still much like Mayakovsky's romantic revolutionary Russia. In 1928 Stalin definitely took over. The early thirties were a terribly hard time, marked by stupendous exertion, injustice, and ruthlessness. During the second half of the decade the injustices and ruthlessness continued, but even the doubters saw that "things were working." It was only during this short period that Stalin made an effort to popularize himself in a direct personal way, appearing at school children's rallies and the like. Then came the war, which made Stalin what he still is to the Russian people. Yet even the prewar Stalin had become reasonably popular. He had checked the over-zealous collectivization program, for which in fact he himself had been responsible, and had acquired a reputation for moderation. There is no doubt that Stalin, even while he created public opinion, also kept his finger on the pulse of the country, and his incomparably better understanding of the Russian people facilitated his victory over Trotsky, the un-Russian intellectual.

For most Russians Stalin is the man who on October 16, 1941, with the Germans at Moscow's gates, never lost his nerve and unostentatiously stayed in the Kremlin planning the counter-blow with his generals. He seldom appeared in public or spoke on the radio, but everybody was aware of his presence, and throughout the war his prestige grew, fed by his enormous self-confidence, his strength of character, his capacity to choose the right people for running the war and dealing with Russia's allies, and above all his judgment.

Malenkov

It is not true that Stalin became a demigod to his people. But since apart from Stalin the man there was also Stalin the symbol of the Soviet state, it was felt inevitable that he should receive the highest adulation and nearly exclusive credit for the state's achievements. No one believed in his infallibility; Stalin himself confessed at the end of the war, "We made numerous mistakes." But there was always the conviction that Stalin was smarter than most people. Despite the element of toadying in the talk of his genius, in the hyperbolic poetry addressed to him, especially by Oriental bards—at which Stalin himself tended to laugh—the adulation was directed more to the symbol than to the man.

In Freudian terminology Stalin was the father who created a feeling of security and self-confidence among his people. Emotionally, therefore, Stalin's disappearance is a grave blow to every Russian, even the malcontents, especially in the present international situation. There has been an irrational belief in Russia that so long as Stalin lived the worst could be averted.

Stalin the man is irreplaceable, at least for a long time. The problem is whether Stalin the "boss" and Stalin the "symbol" can be replaced. Malenkov represents the Soviet-bred younger generation and cannot fill the role of "father."

In the coming months a conflict between two generations is not inconceivable, but the memory of Stalin and his "presence" will tend to have a settling and unifying effect on the new leaders of the Russian people.

ALEXANDER WERTH, The Nation's *Paris correspondent, spent seven years in Moscow as a journalist.*

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QUIET PURGE

G.O.P. Builds a New Machine . . . *by Bruce Catton*

Washington

WHAT you are supposed to look at is the big purge which will separate so many incompetent, taxes-consuming government employees from the federal pay roll. Then you will not see that behind this spectacle the machinery of government is being quietly but effectively recast to make it more responsive to the wishes of a big-business Administration. It is not a difficult operation. It requires only a few new men in top places and a little reorientation in key spots. This is already beginning to be visible.

The government activities which most directly affect the average citizen are largely carried on outside the regular government departments, by various independent agencies. A new head can easily cause a rightabout-face. The government's public-housing program, for instance, is handled by the Housing and Home Finance Agency. The new administrator is Albert H. Cole, ex-Representative from Kansas, known as one of the most effective foes of public housing in the entire Congress.

The law under which the agency operates authorized the construction of 135,000 low-rent housing units a year. Since 1949 that rate has never been approached. Because of the Korean emergency President Truman suggested that it be reduced to 75,000 a year. Through a rider on the appropriation act, elements in Congress sought to cut it to 5,000—which would have been to kill the public-housing program. The effort was defeated, and construction of 50,000 units was authorized for the fiscal year 1952. A similar move to bring the number down to 5,000 units was made the next year, and after some negotiation between the two houses the rate was set at 35,000 units, the limit now in effect.

BRUCE CATTON is contributing a series of articles on the new Washington Administration.

Mr. Cole voted consistently for the 5,000-unit rate, declaring that the low-rent housing program "tends to destroy private homes and private business" and also "to destroy our government." If the government did not pull itself up short, he said, it would eventually find itself compelled to provide subsidized housing for one-fifth of all of the families in the country.

For years the low-rent housing program has been vigorously opposed by the real-estate lobby. The trade likes to build for the top third of the market; it cannot make a profit from low-rent construction, although the rental of once costly housing which has deteriorated is profitable. Now one of the trade's best friends is in charge of the agency which is supposed to push the low-rent building program.

ANOTHER interesting story concerns the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. This agency was set up under Herbert Hoover, its primary function in the depression days being to bail out banks, insurance companies, railroads, and other large interests. Currently nearly 90 per cent of its loans go to small business firms. These loans are vital, for in many areas the rate of industrial expansion has so far exceeded the rate of bank growth that small business men cannot get the financing they need through regular commercial channels. The most recent report of the House Small Business Committee calls the R. F. C.'s operations in this field absolutely essential, both in boom times, as recently, and in a recession, when banks naturally curtail their loans. The R. F. C. loans, it should be noted, are quite different from the loans made from a special fund of $100,000,000 on the recommendation of the Small Defense Plants Corporation.

What is happening now is nothing less than a move to abolish the R. F. C. A bill to that effect has been introduced in Congress by Senator Byrd in conjunction with such Republican stalwarts as Senators Bricker of Ohio and Williams of Delaware. If it is passed, the R. F. C.'s remaining functions will be performed by the Treasury Department—which means of course that all loans to small business will be made by straight bankers' standards and with bankers' caution. It may not even be necessary to pass this legislation. The law under which the R. F. C. lends money expires on June 30. Unless it is extended, the R. F. C. is out of the lending business and the small business man is out of financing.

The principal guardian of small business in the capital is the Federal Trade Commission. Of its five members—James M. Mead, Stephen Spingarn, John Carson, Lowell Mason, and Albert Carretta—the first three were rated as liberals. But last week Carson was replaced by Edward Frank Howrey, Virginia Republician and lawyer, whose principal qualification for the post appears to be the fact that he has been representing big corporation interests before the commission for the last several years.

Traditionally the F. T. C. has been a leading advocate of anti-trust-law enforcement. If it soft-pedals that function, as is anticipated, it may again become what it was in the early 1920's—an agency concerned largely with "policing" advertising and holding conferences on trade practices with industrial groups.

ONE OF THE MOST important independent agencies is the Federal Power Commission. It alone protects the consumer against possible exploitation by the public utilities. It guards his stake in low-cost electric power and has much to say about what he must ultimately pay for natural gas. Its decisions can mean a difference of hundreds of millions of dollars to consumers' budgets.

Among the problems before it at present is that of electric power from

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the St. Lawrence River. Should the New York State Power Authority be given a license to build and operate the vast power plant which will one day arise on the United States side of the International Rapids? If so, can a preference clause be put in the license?

In 1950 the commission denied an application for a separate power project and referred the matter to Congress, contemplating unified development of the whole St. Lawrence project—power production and seaway—in accordance with Section 7-B of the Federal Power Act. (Section 7-B gives the commission no authority to grant a license if it feels that development should be undertaken by the United States.) Since then Congress has declined to authorize the seaway. So the New York State Power Authority's application is again before the commission.

The basic question is whether the consumers of electric power in New York state should be saddled with the extra $50,000,000 in capital costs which must be borne by the power project if it is constructed separately. There is also the danger that all the power generated in the project will be turned over to the utilities at the bus bar if Congressional jurisdiction over the marketing of power is eliminated—as it will be if the license is granted and Canada undertakes the seaway alone.

The commission has five members. Legally at least three of these may be of the majority party. Commissioner Buchanan's term expired recently, and before leaving office President Truman sent in his renomination. This has not yet been acted on and may conceivably meet the fate of Commissioner Carson's renomination to the Federal Trade Commission. Another Democrat is Harry Wimberley, whose term expires in June. A third is Dale Doty, former Assistant Secretary of the Interior under Oscar Chapman, whose term runs until 1954. Other members are Nelson Lee Smith, a highly conservative independent, and Claude Draper, who is believed to be the only authentic Hoover appointee still in office.

The probable outcome of this situation is fairly clear: two new appointments will be made which will leave Commissioner Doty as the lone liberal. Without any sensational turnover the commission will be completely recast.

LAND FOR THE MANY

Guatemala Story . . *by Luis Cardoza y Aragon*

Guatemala City

GUATEMALA has had a democratic government since October, 1944. The present President, Colonel Jacobo Arbenz, elected for the period 1951-57, succeeded the first freely elected President, Dr. Juan José Arevalo (1945-51). Though all kinds of slanderous accusations about the government are circulated by the news agencies, Guatemala is undoubtedly one of the few free countries of Latin America today. And for the first time in its history it is enjoying the benefits of social security, labor legislation, planned education drives, and, since June 17, 1952, agrarian reform.

If enactment of the labor and social-security legislation met with many obstacles, the opposition to an agrarian-reform law that strikes effectively at feudal ownership and capitalist exploitation of land can be imagined. The big landowners, the clerical and conservative elements in the country, and the business interests—especially the United Fruit Company—are doing everything in their power to block implementation of the law and to overthrow the regime that sponsored it. Ignoring the situation described in an official U. N. publication on the urgent need of land reform in Guatemala, they object even to Article 2, which says: "All forms of slavery and serfdom are herewith abolished. Unpaid personal services of peasants, squatters, and agricultural workers, as well as the payment of land rent by labor services and the assignment of Indians to landed property sold or rented, are therefore prohibited in any form whatsoever."

President Arbenz

Of the 1,092,794 farm laborers in Guatemala, 894,872 earned in 1949 from 14 to 40 centavos a day (the Guatemalan centavo is worth approximately one cent); 126,335 earned from 40 to 60 centavos; 21,056, from 60 to 80 centavos; and 10,527, largely those who worked in unhealthy regions, over 80 centavos. In 1944, in the days of the dictator Ubico, the daily wage in large parts of the country was but 5 centavos. These are official figures, published in 1950.

Farm laborers form about a third of the total population of 3,000,000. More than 20 per cent of them are children under fourteen; more than 22 per cent are women. The great majority are illiterate and are exploited as ruthlessly as is the land they work. Dr. Antonio Goubaud, a graduate in social sciences of the University of Chicago, made a study of the weekly consumption of food by farm workers in twelve villages and found that it amounted to some-

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thing over one pound of beans per person, one-fifth of a liter of milk, and half an egg. Not surprisingly, members of the powerful landowners' association advocate the preservation of rural illiteracy on the "patriotic" ground that education would cause a mass exodus from the land. These features of the feudal social system which has persisted in Guatemala since colonial days are now finally being changed by legal and constitutional methods.

Large properties which have lain uncultivated for many years are being distributed to the peasants. The former owners are being compensated in agrarian bonds, fully guaranteed by the state, paying 3 per cent interest, and redeemable over a maximum period of twenty-five years through the Bank of Guatemala. To provide credit for the new owners, an Agricultural Credit Bank is being set up, based on the experience of other countries in such matters.

THE LAND QUESTION is at the root of Guatemala's perennial misery. According to the agricultural census of 1950, the small owners—those owning less than five *manzanas* (a *manzana* is about 1.1 acres)—form 76 per cent of the total number of landholders but own only 10 per cent of the arable land. The big owners—those owning more than one *caballería* (sixty-four *manzanas*)—form 2.2 per cent of the total number and own 70 per cent of the arable land. The medium owners, 22 per cent of the total, share the remaining 20 per cent of the land. To cite the two extremes, 22 big landholders, with more than 200 *caballerías* apiece, own 714,000 *manzanas*, or 13.6 per cent of all the arable land, while 259,169 small holders own a total of 468,138 *manzanas*, less than 2 apiece. Nor is this all: the latter rent 107,391 *manzanas* of their miserable share to other peasants who are even poorer than they.

In some parts of the country the landlords have refused to hand over their properties in accordance with the law of January, 1952, and small groups of peasants, driven by hunger for land and food, have taken matters into their own hands. But on the whole the reform has been carried out peacefully, as President Arbenz guaranteed in his campaign speeches. The peasants are sowing their new fields with corn and beans—the two traditional foods—and are waiting for the rainy season.

Nothing in the agrarian law, or in the other reform laws passed by Guatemala's last two governments, could by the widest stretch of the imagination be called communistic. The news agencies, however, have spread the charge and have distorted the facts to suit their purpose. During the minor land riots of February, 1952, they asserted that rivers of blood were flowing and that a government censorship prevented them from reporting the full truth. Actually one person was killed, and there was no censorship. The opposition to the reform is organized as a Committee for the Defense of the Constitution, but it is much less concerned with defending the constitution than with guarding the wealth of the landed proprietors. In addition to the landlords it includes clericals and the beneficiaries of the fascism sponsored by Ubico's dictatorship.

Order reigns in Guatemala, and the democratic forces are making progress in their struggle against feudal conditions.

WILL CANADA GO RIGHT?

A Ballot Test Is Near . . . *by Keith Hutchison*

THE full term of a Canadian Parliament extends to five years, but the Prime Minister may seek a dissolution at any time within that period if his government loses the confidence of the House of Commons or if he decides that it is good political strategy to ask for a new mandate. Thus although the present Liberal administration of Louis St. Laurent, which has a safe majority, could constitutionally stay in office until the middle of 1954, it is generally expected to "go to the country" in the present year.

This expectation was immensely heightened on February 19 when Finance Minister Abbott presented a budget with "something for everybody." In a report on the financial and economic condition of the country that sounded like the opening gun of a political campaign the Minister cited figures showing that in 1952 Canada had once again reached new heights of production, employment, and trade. Moreover, his faith that the present year would see still greater prosperity was backed by an announcement of widespread tax cuts. Jubilant Liberal back-benchers, whose spirits in recent months have been depressed by a series of Defense Department scandals undermining the government's prestige, cheered Abbott to the echo. It was, they said, "a sweetheart of a budget." Members of the Progressive Conservative opposition were glum. Their spokesman, J. H. Macdonnell, accused the government of cutting taxes "too little and too late," but he evidently feared the effect of the budget on the voters. Representatives of all parties agreed that there was now little doubt about an early election. It might come as soon as May, but political commentators in the Canadian press think that August is more likely.

Canadians, who follow United States politics with far closer attention than Americans give to Canadian affairs, are wondering whether the election, whenever it comes, will be featured by as powerful a swing to the right as appeared here last October. For the Canadian Lib-

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eral Party, while anything but "left," has some similarity to the Democratic Party. It too contains many diverse elements, ranging from the stoutly conservative to the mildly radical, held together by

Prime Minister St. Laurent

astute political management. And while far more tender of business feelings than either Roosevelt or Truman, the Liberal administrations that have ruled at Ottawa continuously since 1935 have successfully checked the growth of the socialist Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (C. C. F.) by borrowing freely—though without acknowledgments—from its program of social reform.

In following this middle-of-the-road course the Canadian Liberals have managed to preserve a more united front than the Democrats south of the border. In many ways their position still seems extremely strong. At the last general election, in June, 1949, their party won a sweeping victory, carrying no fewer than 185 of the 262 seats in the House of Commons, and despite some subsequent losses at by-elections it still has a majority of about 100 over its combined opponents. A mere swing of the pendulum will hardly shatter so large a margin. That will require practically a political earthquake.

Like the Democrats here, the Canadian Liberals are in a position to use the slogan "You never had it so good," though they would probably express the idea in less blatant and more grammatical language. For Canada is enjoying a boom based not so much on defense expenditure as on the rapid development of the country's immense raw-material resources. Barring a sudden recession in the United States that would lessen the demand for Canadian products, there is no reason to anticipate any decline in prosperity in the near future. Very little unemployment exists, and thanks to the governments effective anti-inflationary measures, mostly of an indirect kind, living costs have been stabilized.

It may be that, as in this country, "prosperity" is losing its electoral potency partly because an increasing proportion of the voters are too young to have experienced real depression. That is the hope of the largest of the Canadian opposition parties, the Progressive Conservatives, which, borrowing from the Republican armory, is plugging the theme "time for a change." It is doubtful, however, whether Canadians will consider the replacement of a Liberal Cabinet by a Conservative one enough of a change to get excited about. For the Conservatives have no glamorous father-figure to offer the nation: their leader, George Drew, is no Eisenhower, nor even a Taft. Nor have they a dynamic program. Their most distinctive policy —upward revision of tariffs to promote more rapid industrialization—will hardly attract much support as long as Canada remains prosperous.

A more hopeful issue, for the Conservatives, is the negative one of government extravagance. This can be linked to recent scandals, involving pay-roll padding and thefts from military camps, in handling which the government has shown a very poor sense of public relations. The graft involved appears to have been of a fairly petty nature, but its existence has intensified public resentment at high taxes.

How far the new budget will soften this resentment remains to be seen. Mr. Abbott seems to have distributed his bounty shrewdly. If the 11 per cent reduction in the income tax has little importance for a large number of wage-earners, the 4 cent cut in the cigarette tax means worth-while savings to millions. The middle classes have been catered to through more generous provision for deductions from taxable income and abolition of a number of nuisance taxes, such as the three-cent stamp on checks. Lower corporation taxes gladden the hearts of business, and the press would have been made happy by repeal of the excise tax on newsprint, if the paper companies had not annexed the benefit by an equivalent price increase.

Finally, this easing of fiscal burdens has been made possible, not by unpopular cuts in social benefits or by unbalancing the budget, but by an expansion in national income sufficient to provide a greater yield from lower tax rates. Here, Mr. Abbott can say, is proof both of the Liberal administration's prudent management and the fruitful energy of the population.

SO FAR I have emphasized the strong points of the Liberal Party's position. It is now time to review its less favorable aspects and particularly the rather bleak picture revealed by the elections for local legislatures held in five of Canada's ten provinces last year. Only one of these contests, that in Quebec, offered much comfort to the Liberals. There they increased their percentage of the popular vote from 36 to 40, and gained fifteen seats, giving them twenty-three representatives out of a total of ninety-two. This disparity between votes polled and members returned is due to the fact that Liberal strength is in the cities and towns, while Premier Duplessis' reactionary Union Nationale, which has long dominated local politics in Quebec, retains its grip on the grossly overrepresented rural districts.

The interesting thing about this Quebec election was that the provincial Liberal Party, under a new leader, George Lapalme, adopted a program of economic and social reforms and made a successful bid for the votes of organized labor. The response of the workers reflected their growing class consciousness in the face of Duplessis' implacable hostility to trade unionism. Several leaders of Catholic unions ran as Liberal candidates, and the Canadian Confederation of Catholic Workers, although officially neutral, actually used its influence to rally support to the Liberals. This was a significant development in view of the rapid industrial growth of Quebec, and since the province has always been staunchly Liberal in federal elections, it provided the Ottawa administration with one hopeful augury.

Now contrast what happened in Quebec in July with events in New Brunswick two months later. In that province the Liberals, after ruling for seventeen years, were swept out of office by an

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electoral tidal wave which reduced their seats from forty-seven to sixteen and raised those of the victorious Progressive Conservatives from five to thirty-six. The major issue of the election, according to the former Liberal Premier, John B. McNair—and this illustrates the odd diversities of Canadian liberalism—was whether an international union should be recognized as bargaining agent for employees of the public-power commission. No doubt McNair calculated that his anti-labor stand would be popular among the innately conservative farmers, fishermen, and lumbermen of New Brunswick. But the opposition raised a still more popular issue—government extravagance and high taxes, including a 4 per cent sales tax imposed in 1950—and the voters decided that, locally at any rate, it *was* time for a change.

Back in June an even more dramatic overturn occurred three thousand miles to the west, in British Columbia. There too the Liberals had long been dominant. In 1949 they had won twenty-six of the forty-eight places in the Legislative Assembly but had consented to share power with the Progressive Conservatives the better to fight the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, which had obtained 36 per cent of the popular vote but only 16 per cent of the seats. In pursuit of this aim the coalition enacted a new electoral system, a weird compound of proportional representation and the multiple-alternative vote. It would, they reckoned, enable Liberals and Conservatives to give each other their second votes and so keep the socialist C. C. F. permanently in the cold.

Things did not work out that way on June 12. First, the Liberal and Conservative partners had a falling out before the campaign started. Then two Conservatives members—W. A. C. Bennett, who had sought unsuccessfully the leadership of his party, and Mrs. Tilly Rolston—went over to the fledgling Social Credit Party, which, inspired by the successes of its parent group in Alberta and aided with Alberta funds and speakers, decided to nominate a full roster of candidates. The arrogance and inefficiency of the old government had created widespread discontent in the province, and many independent voters who feared the C. C. F. as "too left" registered their disgust with Liberals and Conservatives by voting Social Credit. Thanks to its free-enterprise policies and the record of the Alberta government, the new group also became the second choice of many Conservatives. At the same time, because its theory is given a radical flavor by its criticism of orthodox banking and its "funny money" ideas, Social Credit earned second choice votes from some C. C. F. members. Finally, the Social Creditors, whose slogan is "Christian government" and who open meetings with hymns and prayers, made a strong appeal to the evangelical sects that abound in British Columbia.

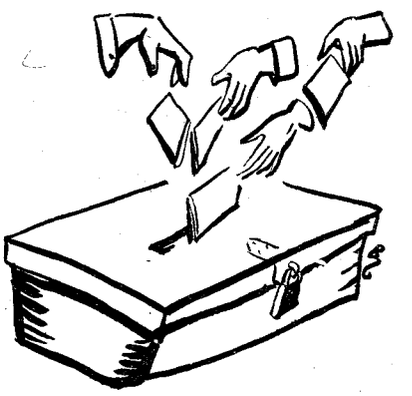
When the votes were counted, the Social Credit Party, which had no members in the previous assembly, emerged with nineteen, and the C. C. F., although it polled a larger popular vote, had one less. Both traditional parties were shattered, with the Liberals reduced from twenty-six to six and the Progressive Conservatives from thirteen to four. All they could do was to give tentative support to the Social Credit government formed under the leadership of Mr. Bennett, whose switch of allegiance proved so opportune. For while the Liberals and Conservatives sneer at the "Socred" parvenus they do not fear them as they do the radical C. C. F.

THE LOSS of British Columbia left the Liberals in control in only one of the four Western provinces—Manitoba. In Alberta last summer the Social Creditors renewed the lease of power that they have held continuously since 1935 by returning fifty-two of the sixty-one members of the legislature. Putting their peculiar monetary theories into cold storage, they have provided the province with honest and efficient if orthodox government. Most Albertans, busy enjoying their oil boom, are satisfied.

In Saskatchewan the C. C. F., under the leadership of the able and popular Tom Douglas, appears to be almost as strongly intrenched as the Social Credit Party is in Alberta. Since 1944, when it first secured a majority, it has cleaned up the administration of the province, strengthened its finances, and introduced important social reforms, including a model hospitalization plan. It has also rapidly expanded publicly owned utilities, promoted resource development, and organized a government insurance office that provides the cheapest coverage against automobile accidents to be found in North America. In the 1948 elections the C. C. F. lost a little ground, but last June it came back stronger than ever, winning forty-two of the fifty-three seats in the legislative assembly, while the Liberals sank from nineteen to eleven. The "Socreds," who have made repeated attempts to gain a toe hold in Saskatchewan, also ran: not one of their twenty-four candidates was successful, and their total vote was less than half what it was in 1948.

The only consolation for the Liberal Party, as it reflects on recent political events in the West, is that Canadians do not necessarily vote nationally for the parties they support locally. Thus in 1949 the C. C. F. sent only five men to Ottawa from Saskatchewan compared to the Liberals' fourteen. In Alberta the Liberals won four seats out of a total of fifteen, and in British Columbia, ten out of sixteen. It is doubtful that they will do nearly as well in the coming general election.

In his recently published life of MacKenzie King, who led the Canadian Liberals for so many years, Bruce Hutchison, the well-known Canadian journalist, declares that his hero "made Canada almost a one-party nation with three splinters of opposition." But in a democratic state one party cannot perpetuate its rule, and eventually the Canadian voters will turn and rend the Liberals. Then the country may well find itself with four splinter parties, none strong enough to form a government. That may not happen in 1953, but Progressive Conservative gains in Ontario and the Maritime Provinces and C. C. F. and Social Credit victories in the West will bring that dangerous situation perceptibly closer unless the Liberal Party



shakes off the complacency engendered by prolonged power and finds means to revitalize itself.

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RUTGERS: A WARNING

Lessons of a Lost Fight . *by Broadus Mitchell*

THE battle for academic freedom in Rutgers University, as a majority of the faculty fought it, has been lost to the trustees. Two professors were dismissed last December for refusal to answer the questions of a Senate subcommittee concerning their possible connection with the Communist Party. This was done although both had been exculpated by a regularly appointed faculty committee of investigation. Later the majority of the faculty voted to uphold the faculty committee's findings and urged the trustees to reconsider. Their petition was supported by a brief submitted by an emergency faculty committee, condemning the dismissals on both procedural and substantive grounds. A deputation of professors from this group appeared before the trustees with oral argument. The trustees reaffirmed the dismissals.

The scene of the Rutgers engagement, where two were killed and many were wounded, will be tidied up. The trustees voted dismissal pay; the president issued a long statement justifying the action taken. A month or so hence the trustees will clarify their brief order with verbal changes. To outward look the field will again be tilled by teachers and students. The cleavage in the university community will not be closed for a considerable period.

The Rutgers conflict yields lessons that may well be applied as the war against the colleges moves to more campuses. No institution will be immune in the spreading purge. The University of Washington, the University of California, and the New York municipal colleges, which suffered previously, are public institutions. Rutgers, though designated as the state university of New Jersey, in law and in fact retains much of its ancient—colonial—private character. New York University, wholly private and also old, has a similar trial pending, and other schools large and small are marked for attack.

THE FIRST recommendation stemming from the Rutgers defeat is to keep the issue clear. Variations will occur, but what is proscribed is the right of dissent, or independence of thought. Tolerance of Communists or of those charged with communism in some degree has become the test of attachment to educational integrity. To a growing number of persons in the general public as well as in official bodies it is paradoxical that lovers of liberty should defend men who are so generally taken to be enemies of intellectual honesty. Communists, they say, if in power in this country, would make civil libertarians their first target—literally. The Communist Party is not a political persuasion but a criminal conspiracy, and it belongs with the "lesser breeds without the law." The party and its penumbra contain mere plotters, etc., etc. Suppose this to be true; we must still reflect that it is only pernicious minorities which require protection. Objectors become more incredulous when they are admonished that Communists and their kind must be allowed for *our* safety.

Nothing is plainer in the present assault on the colleges and schools than the necessity of preserving the rights of everybody. If a teacher or scholar is demonstrably incompetent, biased to the point where his students cannot learn from him, is proved guilty of criminal acts, or offends against common decency and morals, these are grounds for discharge. But beliefs and associations, however stigmatized, must be given asylum. Once Communists are excluded, academic freedom is progressively destroyed. After the first tear the rending of the fabric becomes easier and easier.

At Rutgers University neither of the men dismissed was charged with being guilty of any professional lapse. On the contrary, trustees, administrators, and faculty bore witness to their excellent academic service. That has generally—one may say universally—been true in these cases, and it should be driven home to the profound discomfort of their attackers. The president of Rutgers began by raising the cry of "Communist." This was his view halloo when the coverts were drawn by the Senate subcommittee. This suspicion evidently bulked large in his interrogation of the first of the accused to be brought to notice, for at that interview the man signed a statement that he had never been a Communist or under Communist aegis.

THE FACULTY committee, with doubtful wisdom, asked this professor whether "information obtained by the university administration" substantiated his Communist connections. The trustee chosen to explain the board's action to the faculty showed that he was similarly influenced. But the taking of that position, in the absence of charges of campus misconduct, laid president and trustees open to the accusation that they assailed freedom of belief and association. They promptly shifted to a new stance. Doubt was cast on the fitness of the men to remain on the faculty by their refusal to respond to questions of an authorized investigating body. Of course what the Senate subcommittee asked was, "Have you ever been a Communist?" Also it was awkward for their university prosecutors that in invoking the Fifth Amendment the professors had been upheld by the subcommittee, which, its counsel said, had made no provision for hearing the men again.

But that did not balk their accusers. There is room for argument, they declared, about the implications of resort to the Fifth Amendment. Is the amendment for the protection of the innocent, in thought or deed, or is it an unworthy

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refuge for the guilty only? However this may be, its use is a constitutional privilege. But that did not long disquiet the accused professors' enemies. If a faculty member refuses to tell a proper investigatory body whether or not he has ever been a Communist and pleads possible self-incrimination, he "impairs confidence in his fitness to teach." He offends "the standards required of him as a member of his profession," and has given "cause for . . . immediate dismissal."

Here is an area for infinite dispute on legalisms, extra-mural behavior of teachers, and institutional public relations. Plenty of cover is afforded for trustees who use swift and arbitrary authority. Once they have retreated to this swampland they can scarcely be brought back to the firm terrain where freedom of thought may be tested.

THE SECOND recommendation is to begin now to educate administrative officers and trustees. At Rutgers the principal administrators were either hostile to the view held by the majority of the faculty or remained silent. The trustees were unanimously against the faculty committee's report. Their decision to dismiss the professors was so curt, in contrast to the reasoned conclusion of the faculty investigators, that later, in response to criticism of the inarticulate board, the president wrote on the trustees' behalf a long paper which may or may not improve their reputation with the faculty. It is rare to find a president or dean who will side with the faculty against trustees on an issue of academic freedom. Was it superior wisdom that brought these officers to their posts, or a splendid forbearance, or did the trustees satisfy themselves of a coincidence of views on critical questions before making their selections? In the instance of Rutgers it was hard for this writer to escape the conviction that administrators and trustees were too little acquainted with the issues and the history of their appearance and treatment elsewhere. The president labored, later, to show that the trustees had not acted in haste or hysteria.

The president at first agreed to call a meeting of the whole faculty to discuss the cases, then withdrew his assent because pressures ought not to be applied while the accused were being investigated by the faculty committee. The report of this committee, unanimously recommending that no action be taken by the trustees, was completed more than a week before the board refused to be guided by it, but the report was not, in this interval, released to the faculty. Perhaps the educative value of informed campus debate, before the trustees decided, would have compensated for any demerit in mobilizing sentiment.

If the tenets of academic freedom could not be sufficiently conveyed to the authorities, an acceptable procedure of investigation, perfectly well known and long since agreed to, could have been adopted. Instead, no specific charges were preferred; and there was no true hearing where the men could face their accusers. This loose, vague mode was in sharp contrast to the severe ruling of the trustees that followed. The whole painful spectacle provoked the question of the utility of trustees passing on the fitness of faculty members where there is no charge of professional incompetence or of lawbreaking.

Thirdly, it should be explained to the institution's constituency, as far as means permit, that it is important to preserve freedom to learn, teach, find new knowledge, speak, and publish. No community, small or large, can long have cause for pride in a monitored and therefore frightened faculty. The best agents for informing the public are the president and trustees. They are the designated representatives of the university or college, and by definition are responsible figures. If these authorities of Rutgers had taught the university's public instead of falling in with popular apprehensions, the lesson might have carried far in America.

Though harm has been done it is not too late for another great university to perform this distinguished service.

The Mourning Dove

In a low branch I saw a mourning dove
Sitting motionless upon a flimsy nest
Of twigs and leaf stems loose-woven, uncemented:
The bird had turned to alabaster subtly tinted,
But could not still the ticking in its breast.

And then one day two ragged ruffled fledglings
Peeped from underneath that polished elegance.
The bird mother perched there, the small reptilian head
Fixed, immovable, each eye a topaz bead
That watched and did not waver from my glance.

In the night a wind arose. The next morning found
The nest blown down, a mere unraveled litter,
Twig and leaf stem scattered across the ground.
Something had been at it: the jewel glitter
Of excrement was there, but the fledglings were gone.

The bird mother roosted where the nest had been,
With only those heartbeats to tick the time:
Whether it was Instinct, or some Master Plan,
Or simply a body itch yet unsatisfied,
The bird had frozen in mournful pantomime.

I gazed at that rare shape and each painted spot;
While, dupe of instinct, victim of itch, or emblem of grief,
The dove gazed back, an object carved.
We gazed and gazed, till I forgot
Which was observer, and which observed.

SAMUEL YELLEN

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BOOKS

The End of Something

A Review by Maxwell Geismar

AMERICA AND THE INTELLECTUALS. PR Series, No. 4. Partisan Review. $1. *DISCOVERY NO. 1.* Edited by John W. Aldridge and Vance Bourjaily. Pocket Books. 35 cents. *NEW WORLD WRITING.* Second Mentor Selection. New American Library. 50 cents. *NEW DIRECTIONS IN PROSE AND POETRY. XIV.* New Directions. $5. *THE LITTLE REVIEW ANTHOLOGY.* Edited by Margaret Anderson. Hermitage House. $3.95.

THE big news is that the *Partisan Review* has discovered America. In the symposium above, twenty-five intellectuals have discussed such propositions as (1) Does the American artist no longer feel disinherited from his society? (2) Is European culture finished, and has the United States become "the protector of Western civilization, at least in a military and economic sense"? (3) How can we maintain a tradition of "critical non-conformism" against the standards and values of the masses?

I have summarized the general sense of the discussion, to be sure, and not the specific questions which were asked. To their credit, the best essays in the symposium have either rejected or qualified what seems to be, on the part of the *Partisan Review* editors, a false view of both American art and American culture. Newton Arvin, for instance, clarifies some of these issues in terms of our literary past. Louise Bogan suggests that our art and thought must become "awkward" once more—a fine idea—and that virtuosity is particularly useless at present. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., points out that it is fashionable today among ex-liberal intellectuals "to forget the extraordinary revival of confidence and recovery of nerve which the New Deal produced in this country." Other writers in the group, such as Irving Howe, have the courage to describe the dangers of a "frozen anti-Stalinism"—which is almost the underground motif of the symposium—and to stress the obvious fact that the Communist threat is *to* and not *in* the United States.

But the old voices are still here, including the outrageous James Burnham, who while he has nothing but contempt for most phases of our society, has apparently assumed sole responsibility for its survival. The real issues of American life today, and of American art, are far away indeed from the abstractions over which the typical *Partisan Review* intellectual torments his spirit—or at least his pen. It is another world when we turn from what the intellectuals say about American writing to what the writers are saying about themselves.

"Discovery," the first of the anthologies of new writing to be considered here, is also the most conservative in approach. There are no new writers of consequence in the collection, but the level of the material is pleasantly high. Nor are there any of the trademarks of the arty anthology, except perhaps in Kenneth Fearing's "happy" solution for the machine-age personality—to wit, a series of chromium limbs and organs, tooled with the perfection of costume jewelry, to replace those of defective biology. This is a rather gruesome comedy of sophistication, or mutilation. Norman Mailer has a good war story. Hortense Calisher has a subtle and sensitive tragi-comedy, beautifully handled, of the wives and husbands who in the midst of life endure the slow annihilation of psychoanalytic therapy.

What brings this anthology into focus, and makes it well worth reading, is William Styron's novella, "The Long March." This author's first work since his novel, "Lie Down in Darkness," it is the desperate narrative of a group of marine reserves, heroes of another war, who are called back to active duty. What makes Styron so good? All I can say is that he is an original—a natural—a writer who makes us enjoy the art of writing again. The second Mentor selection of "New World Writing" has nothing in it so fine as this story. But one must also pay respect to this anthology as the originator of the whole idea that the little magazine could be revived for just that "mass culture" which Ortega y Gasset viewed only in terms of shakes and horrors.

I am still old-fashioned enough to believe that the Mass Man—who is after all another abstraction to replace the Economic Man of late nineteenth-century thought—is less reprehensible than those who mislead or corrupt him for their own advantage; that he is still capable, in his normal guise, of progress, maturity, flights of glory. In the present case, at least, he is to be found reading such authors as James Jones, Pablo Picasso, John Lehman, W. H. Auden, Jean Genet, in the hundreds of thousands of copies. As this list of authors suggests, "New World Writing" is larger in scope than "Discovery," balanced equally between European and American writing, and more experimental or "advanced" in tone.

Among the native talents I should mention Osborn Duke, the band player, whose work has something unusual. There is a great sense of exuberance and hilarity in his tale of two jazz musicians and a colored singer trapped in the depths of the South. This is real, the way things are, and one can compare it with Dylan Thomas's literary version of the same emotions in another story in this collection. On the far left of the literary spectrum, too, the fourteenth edition of the New Directions Annuals, by now an established landmark in the contemporary scene, leans even more heavily on European writing. The best things seem to date back to the experimental period of the early 1900's.

The tone is sometimes positively antique. André Gide's "Voyage d'Urien," published in English for the first time, was written in 1893 as a document of the Symbolist movement. The study of Hermann Hesse by Oskar Seidlin deals with a literary figure who, like Thomas

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MAXWELL GEISMAR is the author of "Writers in Crisis" and "The Last of the Provincials." The third volume in this series of literary studies, "Rebels and Ancestors," will be published in the fall of 1953.

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Mann, reflects the cultural flowering of the late nineteenth century. The psychoanalytical interpretation of Heinrich Hoffmann's "Struwwelpeter" by Rudolph Friedmann—an essay which I thought was some kind of mad satire but which turned out to be deadly serious—deals with the mass castration of Victorian children. But all these articles are of value in the literary record, even if they cannot serve as new directions for the middle of the twentieth century.

There is a curious parallel between Mr. Laughlin's Annuals and the *Little Review,* which also began in 1914 as an instrument to aid native talent, and which ended in 1929 as an official organ of the European masters. In Margaret Anderson's survey of the magazine's career, as well as in the contributions that she has brought together in her present volume, "The Little Review Anthology" has the flavor of a great period of literary achievement. It throws a final and ironic illumination on the other anthologies of contemporary writing I have mentioned here.

For there is no doubt that the efflorescence of the 1920's was a climax of the literary revival that, both in Europe and America, opened in the decade of the 1890's. Reading over the *Partisan Review* symposium in this light, one almost feels that its contributors have, in one step, moved from the salons of Henry James to the extermination camps of Hitler and Stalin. Our younger writers too are working in the shadow of a cultural tradition that has closed, and a revolutionary epoch whose shape trembles and changes from day to day.

Somewhere at the center of this chaos, I think, lies the matrix of a new literature. If there is one.

New Books in Brief

Violence and Virtue

A GOOD MAN. By Jefferson Young. The Bobbs-Merrill Company. $3. An interesting first novel by a new writer of talent. The story deals with the life of a Mississippi Negro who is everything that the white folks want—sober, hard-working, faithful, loyal. Because he aspires to own a respectable white house, however, which no Negro farmer in the town has ever had, the white community is aroused. Threat of violence surrounds the tale of simple virtue. The delicate, often beautiful prose rhythms catch the dialect of Southern whites and blacks alike, while the story is simplified to the level of fable, and the emotions are nicely muted. The central portrait of "a good man" is a difficult feat technically, whatever the color of virtue's skin. At the end Mr. Young, like many another aspiring moralist, is forced to lean upon artifice and sentiment in order to make human sweetness credible. But the surprising thing is that he almost does.

Sorrows of the Different

A DOG'S HEAD. By Jean Dutourd. Translated by Robin Chancellor. Simon and Schuster. $3. An extravagant but at times brilliant comment on the difficulties of being different in this most conformist of all possible worlds. The hero, Edmund Du Chaillu, has the singular curse of having been born with a dog's head. As he observes more than once, had it at least been a bulldog's, it might have advanced him in politics, but intelligence and gentleness mark his spaniel's countenance; it is the face of a meek dog. Every cruelty meted out to the distinctly different in religion, color, or sex is compounded in the case of Edmond. Jean Dutourd manages never to make his hero credible, yet to make the litany of his sufferings naggingly real, the perfect tour de force for his satire of the middle-class world and its ambitions. A short, pungent, and irritating book which embodies the first jabbingly apposite social comment since "Animal Farm."

Biography of Michelangelo

MICHELANGELO: HIS LIFE AND HIS ERA. By Giovanni Papini. Translated from the Italian by Loretta Murnane. Dutton. $10. Of this flowery and ambitious biography by the author of the once popular "Life of Christ" it must be said that its length is greater than its merit, and its pretensions greater than its length.

At the Poet's Shoulder

ROBERT BROWNING. A PORTRAIT. By Betty Miller. Charles Scribner's Sons. $5. The man who emerges from this biography of Browning seems to be an unpleasant intruder between the poet and his readers. With the aid of many personal documents and some important unpublished letters Miss Miller discreetly elaborates the insinuation that Browning was the psychological victim of a strong-minded mother, and suggests that his pursuit of Elizabeth Barrett was an unsuccessful attempt to have himself taken in charge by a dominant, guiding personality. If this were true, it would be necessary to explain how this dependent and uxorious creature could be the author of poems displaying a virile and confident craftsmanship. But Miss Miller is far less concerned with Browning's poetry than with the intimate details of his life, and her account often gives the reader the experience of standing at the poet's shoulder in many moments of his youth, courtship, and marriage and breathing the air of Wimpole Street and Casa Guidi. This vivid novelistic real-

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ism is supported by a number of handsome photographs and a thorough knowledge, almost photographic itself, of the scenes and times in which Browning moved.

Lincoln's Wife

MARY LINCOLN, BIOGRAPHY OF A MARRIAGE. By Ruth Painter Randall. Little, Brown. $5.75. It is obvious that this truly tragic figure in American history has the author's deep sympathy. Some may say that she attributes too many of Mrs. Lincoln's faults and frailties to her irrationality. If so, here is where the basic integrity of the work shines brightest. Faithfully the author sets all the facts down—many of them discovered by her and hitherto unpublished. Thus the reader is able to form his own judgment as to whether, in a particular circumstance, Mary was mentally deranged or a vain, selfish, unscrupulous woman or, maybe, both.

Hereafter, nobody can claim knowledge about these matters without having read Mrs. Randall's fascinating book. In fact, it supplies much that is new about Lincoln himself during the last twenty-five years of his life. It is impossible to read it without reaching the conclusion that the easygoing Lincoln's political success, perhaps even his elevation to the Presidency, was largely due to the driving ambition and loyalty of his wife.

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Theater

Harold Clurman

THOUGH most musical comedies are mediocre, there can be little doubt that the form is America's truly indigenous contribution to the world theater of today. In musical comedy the American expresses two sides of his nature—his innocence and his ingenuity. The spirit is irrepressibly fun-loving; the technique is amazingly facile. No single musical of recent record can be confidently listed as a perfect piece, but taken as a body of work, "Oklahoma," "South Pacific," "Guys and Dolls," and now "Wonderful Town" (Winter Garden) can be set down as a generic masterpiece.

The main distinction of "Wonderful Town" is its lack of slickness. Its pace is remarkably fleet; yet it does not sweat and strain to be fast. It is extraordinarily light without being empty. It is a triumph of good nature.

The credit for this achievement—apart from the total conception, which may or may not be credited to George Abbott, who directed it—must go to the authors of the original "My Sister Eileen," Joseph Fields and Jerome Chodorov, who are responsible for the present "book"; to Betty Comden and Adolph Green, who wrote the lyrics; and to Rosalind Russell, whose performance is an altogether captivating summation of the show's merits.

From a technical standpoint what is most original in "Wonderful Town" is that it has no special effects which stand apart from one's sense of the whole show. The piece has a unified texture: it is a complete thing. The songs define the situations, tell the story—as do the dances. One has no feeling that at a certain point the plot line is dropped to fit in an extraneous bit of ballet or a specialty number. Each sequence, whether it be spoken dialogue or a "turn" of some sort, amplifies and carries on what has preceded it. When, for example, the leading lady tells us One Hundred Ways of Losing a Man, it is not a comedy patter that stops the show but a necessary part of the play's characterization. When a trio of young men explain What a Waste the efforts of the young artists from the provinces who try to strike it rich in New York are, it is an essential part of the theme.

The show's lack of slickness—and in this respect Raoul Pené de Bois's sets are remarkably apt—is not simply a fortunate accident but, to a large extent, part of the show's meaning. What is created in "Wonderful Town" is a kind of fervent bohemianism which was typical of the young intellectuals' struggles in the shabby and glorious days of New York in the mid-thirties. How much charm and excitement there was amid the debris of the depression! What lyric candor we enjoyed before we became burdened by our present harsh prosperity! Now we are proper wastrels disguising our fears and our kind hearts in insipid propriety. Then we were wrong-headed and raffish with ecstatic hope.

Something of that good time is evoked by "Wonderful Town." Betty Comden and Adolph Green, who are successful products of that era—do you remember them at the old Village Vanguard?—are among those who have not lost the ungainly, improvisatory, hard-hitting enthusiasm of those days. They are still inspired amateurs—thank God! Beneath their correct evening attire they carry the mark of an unregenerate youthfully urban romanticism; they are not afraid of a redeeming stain or wrinkle, badges of freedom from the restraints of their new respectability.

What is fascinating about Rosalind Russell is her combination of expert poise and breeding with a wholly spontaneous spirit of abandoned fun. She is not only technically deft, she is emotionally devoted to her task. She is a star by virtue of talent, training, experience, but she plays with the selflessness of a true ensemble actor. She shines out from the proceedings not like a gorgeous figurine in framed display but like the most concentrated light bodying forth the soul and spirit of the whole event. Her manner is crisply witty, her handsome face and figure are smartly lean, her eyes sparkle with shrewd feminine sophistication, and her entire

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being seems galvanized by a kind of purity in playfulness and in performance that is the sign of the deepest kind of professionalism in the theater.

I have not mentioned Leonard Bernstein's score not because I mean to except it from my praise. While it does not strike me at first hearing as so memorably tuneful or freshly ebullient as some of the same composer's earlier work, it is definitely in tune with what I have described; it offers a kind of gently wry, modestly melancholy, and moderately satiric atmosphere in which everything floats in unfettered friendliness.

Art

S. Lane Faison, Jr.

THE large Rouault retrospective, which completes a seven weeks' stay at the Cleveland Museum of Art on March 15, will be on view at the Museum of Modern Art in New York from April 1 through May 31. More than 60 of the 160 works are paintings, and they range from the year 1891, just before Rouault began to study with Gustave Moreau, to a group of eight which were executed or completed during 1952. Nine others were completed since 1945, when the Museum of Modern Art last exhibited Rouault comprehensively.

I find it rather difficult to say anything new about an old master who has conscientiously and admirably resisted all appeal of mere novelty. The very recent works are sunnier than before, more bleached than richly blond, and their occasional dissonances, together with a texture more like tapestry than oil painting, produce a disconcerting effect rather like painting on velvet.

Rouault's tragic grandeur links him naturally with Daumier and thereby with Balzac, though he seldom indulges in Balzac's precision of detail. Prostitutes, judges, clowns, ancient kings, heads of Christ, landscapes—from them all a sense of the great passions is forcefully projected. Scale is felt in monumental terms, and for Rouault large size seems to help release this feeling, whereas some of Daumier's smallest works are among his most monumental and Corot was generally unable to achieve grandeur of effect except in works of very modest proportions. The Old Clown, 1917 (collection of Edward G. Robinson), dominates the present exhibition because it combines very large size with sustained impact, nowhere depending on mechanical enlargement to attain its real size.

Perhaps I am the victim of my own theory, but the prints, of which some eighty-five examples are on view, impressed me on the whole more than the paintings themselves. For his graphic work Rouault often chooses unusually large formats and exploits their mural possibilities to the utmost. While the range of intensities is necessarily reduced in his color prints, it is nevertheless surprisingly great. A reason why it seems sufficient to me is that in his oils, particularly the recent ones, less restraint in color has the effect of weakening the drama of his blacks and whites. Thus the muted color of the Old Clown, previously cited, seems to me to outstrip even the stained-glass resonance of the Old King (Carnegie Institute); and the famous early water colors do not lack power for being surprisingly tame in intensity. In texture Rouault's "etching and aquatint" process is far more complicated than such a description might indicate, for he feels at liberty to scarify, file, and burnish the plate until the desired effect is achieved. But the final process of printing creates its own restrictions and thereby its special unity. All of which is merely a roundabout way of saying that Rouault's oils, particularly in the last fifteen years, often seem overworked and lacking in directness. I should warn the reader that Jacques Maritain, who has written an eloquent preface to the catalogue, considers these recent works "the most invaluable jewel of the present exhibition."

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support the view that the government was well served when he was selected several years ago to execute the murals for the Rincon Annex of the San Francisco Post Office. History having marched on and thrown some of the war-time iconography of those murals out of gear, certain local groups have been demanding their destruction, but to date the murals have been spared. The present exhibition, which features recent work for a synagogue, offers strong evidence that Refregier is an artist of integrity, that he is the master and not the slave of his subject matter. While such arguments cannot be expected to charm the iconoclasts, they provide the major line of defense for those interested in preserving selected examples of art sponsored by the United States government. Much of it has been very bad, and though Refregier is no Orozco, he is certainly preferable to Rivera. The present exhibition ought to be taken as retroactive insurance that one day San Francisco will not regret its Rincon Annex murals.

THREE MODERN Italian painters (Catherine Viviano Gallery) remind us that the rich and bold murals of the later Renaissance offer possible sources of inspiration for the modern painter. I find Birolli's marine themes a little too chopped up and Morlotti's designs too close to Picasso—though disguised under a kind of phosphorescent oil slick—to rival Afro. Three big canvases by Afro, painted in July (greens), August (purples), and November (russets), are extremely varied, but they have in common a swinging and joyous kind of confidence expressed in the bold scale, the curvilinear kind of interlace, and the concentrated massing of forms to allow plenty of air at diagonally opposite extremities. After inspecting a number of tight little metaphysical designs (with a linoleum look) by artists I prefer not to mention, I found in Afro the same release from constricting tensions that E. M. Forster portrayed, long ago, in "Where Angels Fear to Tread."

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Music

B. H. Haggin

EVEN in the first years of John Crosby's radio column there were occasions to note how the seemingly all-encompassing intelligence stopped operating the moment he began to talk about a musical subject: the Telephone Hour, the quiz and round-table discussion of the Metropolitan Opera broadcasts, Deems Taylor—and later Benny Goodman—as long-haired disk jockey. As time went on one noted in the column the effects of routine, of the difficulty of continuing to find good material, of the fact that Crosby now wrote with consciousness of the qualities of mind, personality, and style that had brought him success, and exploited them as a performer. And an article In Defense of Sponsored Radio in the Manchester *Guardian* was a special perverse performance for British readers, in which he seemed to be trying to see whether the Crosby razzle-dazzle could get them to accept black as white.

The commercial plugs of American radio were offensive; but we Americans, said Crosby, had acquired a selective deafness for them. The money from advertising went into programs that were monstrosities of vulgarity; but, said Crosby, it also paid for the variety of programs required by "a very large country with far greater divergence in temperament, racial origin, and local custom among its people than in Great Britain," and our commercial radio was therefore "the best type . . . for a country as big, as populous and diverse as ours." But the variety he described as available to a New Yorker—"concert music, popular music, soap opera, hints to the housewives, lectures, discussion programs, comedy"—has nothing to do with divergent racial origins and local customs; in fact, the same concert music, popular music, soap operas, hints to housewives, discussions, and comedy are carried by the sponsored network programs to everyone everywhere in the country, whatever his racial origin or local customs; and commercial radio, in providing these programs, does not thereby show itself to be best suited "for a country as big, as populous and diverse as ours." Actually, too, the British get from their non-commercial radio not only concert and popular music, discussion, and comedy (though not soap opera) but programs adapted to local languages and interests.

Without the money from advertisers, said Crosby, the NBC Symphony wouldn't have existed and Toscanini mightn't have been lured back to America; without their income from broadcasting—i.e., directly or indirectly from advertisers—the New York Philharmonic, the Boston Symphony, and the Metropolitan Opera would find it even harder to keep going than they did. He said this to people who knew that their British Broadcasting Corporation had (at least ten years before NBC, let me point out) used money from the license fees on radio sets to establish its own symphony orchestra, to engage for it the world's foremost conductors including Toscanini, to broadcast the performances of other British orchestras and opera from Covent Garden. But these British readers could not know what Crosby had written a few months earlier in the *Herald Tribune* about the way the NBC Symphony and the Philharmonic had been kicked around, and the Boston Symphony kicked off the air altogether.

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The networks had in fact dropped a number of other musical programs (CBS the Philadelphia Orchestra, Invitation to Music, and the CBS Symphony summer series; ABC the summer series of its ABC Symphony) that Crosby hadn't mentioned even in his *Herald Tribune* column; and at the time he was telling British readers what the American system had done for music, the American system had reduced music on the networks to the NBC Symphony, the New York Philharmonic, the Metropolitan Opera, and the Biggs organ recital; whereas the BBC was continuing its program undiminished.

This program, moreover, was one that American radio music even at its highest point had never approximated. The American networks, exploiting names that had prestige for the mass public, had presented the great orchestras and the Metropolitan, and had come to see music almost entirely as the standard orchestral and operatic repertory; whereas the BBC had systematically explored the entire musical literature—the literature not only of opera and the orchestra but of solo instruments, the voice, and chamber groups, the unfamiliar music of the past, the new music of today. Crosby's concluding opinion was that "it is more practicable to eliminate the faults of the American system than to eliminate the system itself." I agree that there is no possibility of eliminating the system; but I can't see that system doing anything else than presenting big-name orchestras and conductors rather than chamber music, and dropping even a big-name orchestra when income from advertising is down.

The Boston public is hearing broadcasts of the Boston Symphony again, of chamber-music concerts from the Library of Congress and other concerts in Boston, not from one of the networks but as part of the comprehensive cultural program presented by the Lowell Institute Cooperative Broadcasting Council—comprising Boston's colleges and universities, its Museum of Fine Arts, the Boston Symphony, the New England Conservatory of Music, and the Lowell Institute itself—largely through its own FM station WGBH. This is merely the most spectacular illustration of the fact that the improvements in the situation are occurring outside of commercial network radio.

Letters

In Defense of Social Scientists

Dear Sirs: The writer of the article Freud and the Hucksters which appeared in the February 14 issue may well have a valid general point, but it is presented amid distortions, half-truths, and veiled implications. . . . The implication that psychologists en masse are an unprincipled lot of mercenary opportunists engaged in a fiendish collaboration with industry to undermine the morals, health, finances, and mental health of America's citizenry is fantastic, to use a mild word.

There is no accurate count of the number of psychologists who are employed by industry and advertising, but the membership of the American Psychological Association's Division of Industrial and Business Psychologists offers a possible reference point. Less than 4 per cent of the A. P. A.'s total membership of 8,600 were in this division as of 1951. The Division of Clinical and Abnormal Psychology, most of whose members are working in the fields of mental illness, psychotherapeutics, and mental testing, has almost 15 per cent. . . . It is apparent that industry is not the major focus of American psychology at the present time.

Mr. Goodman is alarmed by the fact that industry is subsidizing psychological research. He does not seem impressed by psychologists' theoretical interest in why people drink, smoke, chew gum, and do lots of other things. If industry is willing to stand the costs of this type of investigation, the psychologist would be foolish indeed to pass up the opportunity. As Mr. Goodman points out, most psychologists who do this research entertain no idealistic delusions about the eventual commercial application of the results. But even if the work were done under the auspices of a non-profit organization, nothing would prevent the manufacturer or advertising agency from utilizing the findings for their own benefit. . . . The industrialist would only profit further from this arrangement. . . .

The uncritical reader of Mr. Goodman's article might easily be led to conclude that well-known psychologists like Drs. Thorndike and Marquis are dishonestly claiming that chewing gum is an antidote for frustration, in order to get a slice of the $1,500,000 income of the Psychological Corporation. I cannot conscientiously contradict this imputation, since I do not know any of the individuals named personally, although I strongly doubt that they are dishonest. However, I think it is only fair to point out that the Psychological Corporation retains a number of authorities in areas other than industrial research—from which half its income is derived according to Mr. Goodman. To the best of my knowledge none of the four psychologists named in the article are experts in the field of industrial research or public-opinion polling. It is entirely probable that these men are in no way connected with the type of investigation described by Mr. Goodman, and it is either deliberately cunning or grossly naive of him to support his claims with such an association. . . .

Irrational ambition reflected in "conspicuous consumption" is an unhealthy state, but it is not created by advertising. What the advertiser does is to exploit existing conditions. The manufacturer who tries to make you buy his product by claiming that "more people use . . ." adopted this slogan because experience showed that it worked. I do not believe that McCann-Erickson needs a psychol-

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ogist to tell them what years of advertising have already proved.

I do not quite grasp how the business about emotional appeal fits in with the rest of the thesis. I suppose Mr. Goodman included these paragraphs to illustrate how the psychologist, the expert on emotions, belongs in the advertiser's scheme. The public's emotions are also crucial to the movies and literature, but neither Hollywood nor Harper is a prominent seducer of psychologists.

The psychological sciences are currently overlaid with a poisonous spawn of public misconception. I am surprised and disappointed to find *The Nation,* to me a symbol of independent integrity, joining with the many mass-communication media which are sturdily doing their share to perpetrate and spread these misbeliefs.

EUGENE E. LEVITT

Iowa City, Iowa

Mr. Goodman Replies

Dear Sirs: To read into my article a condemnation of social scientists as a group is, I think, unwarranted. On the contrary, my dwelling on the commercial uses to which social psychology is being put was intended as a reaffirmation of the basic principles of the social sciences.

Mr. Levitt says that I "may well have a valid general point," but any point I had would certainly be nullified by his unqualified acceptance of industry-sponsored research. For my point was precisely that business is *not* willing to stand the costs of objective investigations by scientists. Advertisers support psychological studies for one reason only—to increase their manipulation of consumers. This purpose conditions the research itself, determining the subject matter, the way in which it is explored, and ultimately the conclusions which must be adapted for use by advertisers.

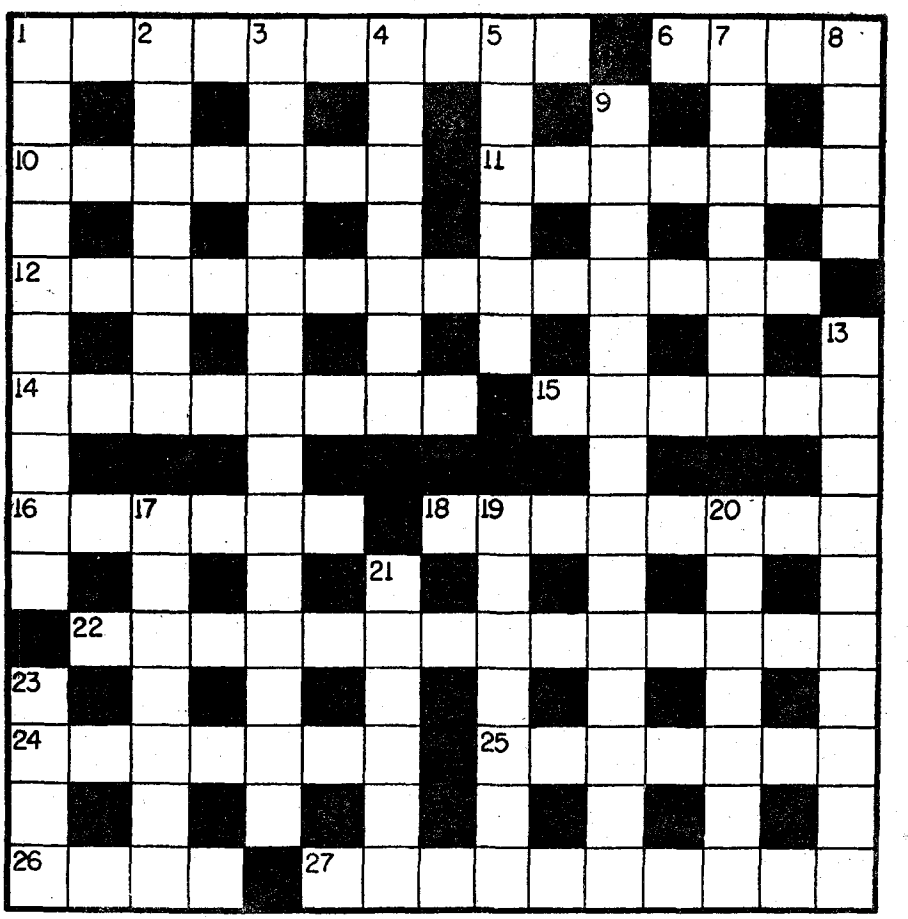
Mr. Levitt argues that since the industrialist can always appropriate scientific findings, there is nothing wrong with the scientist going to work for the manufacturer. This is like saying that because a chemist realizes his work may one day be used to develop a poison gas, it is all right for him to make some money by showing a company exactly how to make a good poison gas.

What, after all, is the function of the social scientist? What is his starting point? Why is he a social scientist in the first place? These are the questions I wished to raise.

I saw no need to do any nose counting. If most social scientists are still true to the high ideals of their profes-

Crossword Puzzle No. 507

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 There's a sort of sign about a bed, in writing, too. (10)
6 Easy-flowing, it comes back almost under part of the boat. (4)
10 S-cuts, about the neck, perhaps. (7)
11 Searched for or got rid of undesirable material. (7)
12 Conspicuously. (14)
14 Dodges the sort of noises one finds around the little Dominion state. (8)
15 Imagine losing a sort of constellation! (6)
16 Perhaps this authoress takes a pet with her. (6)
18 Nowadays it's more than hard tack and salt pork along the coast. (8)
22 A colorful fever certainly isn't associated with misfortune. (4-4, 6)
24 Where a man's man returns with a Roman quartet? (3, 4)
25 Tie a tin on the Thin Man's dog? What a game! (7)
26 16½ foot-guns? (4)
27 Tennyson said these are more than coronets. (4, 6)

DOWN

1 The act of pressing. (10)
2 Mark with a mathematical symbol a Tosca villain created. (7)
3 Take a united charity collection to the bank by means of this road? (9, 5)
4 He supposedly wins everything but the girl. (4, 3)
5 Does it take prying about to find that the choral concert is off? (6)
7 Did the girl in "Gentlemen Prefer Blondes" make a wreck out of her boy-friend? (7)
8 Said something other than good, by the sound of it. (4)
9 Does the rest of the adding machine offset something? (14)
13 Roll up the top before the bottom goes to pieces if you want protection. (10)
17 Sung with a moving line? (7)
19 Made inconspicuous. (7)
20 If it's time to put a mask on, he'll help you. (7)
21 Irvine is definitely in the race! (6)
23 One should excel in part, anyway. (4)

• ✻ •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 506

ACROSS:—1, 20 and 9 SOFTENING OF THE BRAIN; 6 RUPEE; 10 FRANCHISE; 11 RIOT SQUAD; 12 and 7 down MATCH POINT; 13 FLATS; 15 NURSEMAID; 18 and 28 LADIES AND GENTLEMEN; 19 TENTS; 22 DACHSHUND; 25 MUSSOLINI; 26 EVERY; 27 NIECE.

DOWN:—1 SOBER; 2 FRAGONARD; 3 ERNES; 4 INFLUENZA; 5 GRAND; 6 RECUMBENT; 8 EYESHADES; 13 FELLOWMEN; 14 STEVEDORE; 16 REDUCTION; 17 AD NAUSEAM; 21 TASTE; 22 DOING; 23 SMELL; 24 DOYEN.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

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sion, that does not excuse the increasing number who are not. The reason I named certain psychologists is that they are directors of the Psychological Corporation and should therefore be held responsible for *all* work done by it.

New York RALPH GOODMAN

More on Hucksters

Dear Sirs: In the article Freud and the Hucksters, Mr. Goodman quotes from Burleigh Gardner's letter to *Tide* that Gardner believed "the strong Eisenhower majority could have been predicted using projection techniques." Exactly this was done by another huckster outfit, Imberman and DeForest, public-relations counselors in Chicago. In the June 5, 1952, issue of the *Freeman,* under the heading No Soap, the editors make a big point of having access to the survey made by Imberman and DeForest. The survey, using projection techniques—this was before the convention—came up with the finding that Eisenhower would beat Taft all to pieces any day.

The Taft supporters, who presumably paid for this hucksterism, killed the report, but the *Freeman,* a right-wing Taft organ, got wind of it and used it to flay Eisenhower for not giving "detailed answers" to our problems.

At any rate, projection techniques are now being applied by a few of the overeducated market-research and public-relations counselors, all of whom have one foot in our major universities. Whether they lend their talents to the right wing—as in Germany during the middle 1930's—to swing the masses is well worth watching. Hucksters sell out to the highest bidder.

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